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HISTORY.

HISTORIA vero testis temporum, lux veritatis, vita memoriæ, magistra vitæ, nuntia vetustatis, qua voce alia, nisi Oratoris, immortalitati commendatur.

CICERO DE ORATORE.

CHAPTER X.

IN accomplishing this deep concerted plan, to govern the country by mere court favouritism, and to concentrate in themselves a share of power which they could not hope to obtain from capacity, past services, popularity, general confidence, or natural influence, the faction willed that the long established political arrangements of the country were to be altered ; that every person who acted independently, or held opinions but by servile adoption from the court, were to be put down ; that no title to office, to the credit of serving the country, to counsel, to advise, or to interfere in the government, was to be allowed to any, but those who should be content to derive them from the executive power, through the favour of this cabal ; that those who were patriotic, virtuous and firm, should be removed, and their political weight and existence destroyed ; and that all the political connections which had before subsisted, should be dissolved. Those who possessed influence in the state, by the tenure of well-earned

popular favour, were now to be deprived (by means well suited to such purposes) of their popularity ; and from those, who by rank, opulence, hereditary services to the state, inflexible integrity, and a noble spirit of independence, of either court favour on the one hand, or the shouts of a multitude on the other, parliament was first gradually to be alienated, then insensibly trained to adopt, at the will of the junto, interests however clashing and opposite, and politics however mutable or discordant ; and in the end taught to look on, as if perfectly unconcerned, while a cabal of the closet and back stairs were substituted in the place of a national administration. This they were sensible could only be accomplished, by artfully rendering the parliament totally regardless of the persons, connections and characters of all who should appear in the shape of ministers of the crown, and by completely disciplining them to receive their opinions and their cue how to act from the court faction. Thus, the nation, the parliament, and the sovereign himself would be impounded by their will, and their secret cabinet be the fountain of all the political counsel and action of that great empire. The execution of this part of their project, however, could not be safely attempted, while the men who then filled the ministerial departments remained in office. At the head of affairs stood two persons, who though of different parties, were of nearly equal influence in the state. Those were the duke of NEWCASTLE and Mr. PITT. Of the two, the duke and his party the whigs, with their leaders, were in fact more permanently powerful than Mr. PITT ; though the energies, the spirit, the magnanimity and the talents of the latter rendered him, perhaps, for the time more formidable. The power of the first was rooted in the hearts, habits, and soil of the country ; that of the second was merely personal, the result of his own meritorious services, and therefore transient. Though more popular at the time, than any of the whigs, the power of Mr.

PITT, was more equivocal and unstable, because erected upon that crumbling foundation, popularity, and that most evanescent of all principles, gratitude for benefits conferred on the public ; while the whigs possessed an influence in property, consanguinity, alliance, and above all in the very name of whig, then and ever since dear to the English people, and (if all men at all times knew what ought to be dear to them) dear to their sovereign also. Impracticable, as one would naturally suppose it must have appeared to be, to overcome such formidable obstacles as stood in the way, it was yet resolved upon to remove those great chiefs from the cabinet councils of the state, to despoil them if possible of their fame and popularity, and after having thus lopped off the heads of the parties to put the axe to the root, and by one general proscription, qualified by no distinction, mitigated by no decency, and limited by no bounds or exception, but that of unconditional submission to their will, to sweep away the only securities which existed for the conservation of the people's importance. Their views were greatly furthered by a secret enmity which subsisted between those great and good ministers, and a private alienation, which unfortunately rankled at the bottom, while they acted in concert as ministers. They had coalesced for patrotic purposes merely, without personal friendship or confidence in each other.

Since it constitutes a fraction of the materials from which the character of the junto is to be collected, that tissue of hypocrisy and cunning with which they deputed themselves to all whom they meant to ruin, ought to be particularly noticed ; measuring the risk of detection and the prospects of success on each occasion ; calculating with precision the effect it would have upon their plans ; and conforming their conduct to that measure only, without any consideration of respect to rank, of reverence to character, of deference to influence and connections,

or even to the common formalities observed in life. Thus the sentence, which, in their minds, the cabal passed on all alike was executed or respited, upon this person or on that, just as the prudence of their secret cabinet at the moment dictated. The only unmarried daughter of the late excellent king, she who shared, more than any other, that monarch's affections, was at once, even before her father's body was committed to the earth, stripped of the place of Ranger of Richmond Park, which he had bestowed upon her as a testimony of his paternal love, and which to inhance the insult was given to the earl of BUTE. The duke of CUMBERLAND (he, who for his suppression of the rebellion in Scotland, and the entire overthrow of the hopes of the house of STUART, was the idol of the whigs) was immediately distinguished by a memorable mark of the insolent and injurious dislike of the favourite, who finding no other means of testifying his disrespect to the hero of Culloden, had recourse to the pitiful expedient of getting his name struck out of the liturgy. How the young sovereign could have endured such direct manifestations of bold disrespect to his family and nearest connections, it is hard to say. It might be a curious subject of inquiry to enter into, what his majesty's reflections may be, now that he is old, and has his favourite children to provide for, when he looks back to that part of his conduct. All this, the junto dared to do, because the persons so injured, had not a sufficiency of popular importance to render the thing dangerous to their views with the people, and the court was already instructed in, and favourable to their projects. The dismissal of the duke of NEWCASTLE and Mr. PITT, though as fully determined upon, was suspended until their projects should be better ripened, and until the popularity of those ministers should be rendered subservient to their plans. Those circumstances of disrespect to the late king and his son and daughter, caused much dissatisfaction however, but not enough to interrupt the new planned

process or discourage the junto in the prosecution of their designs.

While they were thus industriously employed in removing and changing every thing from its place in the old arrangement, they plied the public, through the medium of the press, with calumnious and satirical writings against the late reign, and with the greatest address and artful concealment against the whole of the whig party. While within the circle of their power they exercised the most determined despotism, and in their secret cabinet were deliberately planning a system of government which went to make the court paramount to all other parts of the politic body, they publicly had recourse to all the expedients which serve the purposes of demagogues, managed however with more than ordinary artifice. Nothing could equal the professions of disinterested virtues, moral and political, with which they first set out. The influence and power of the whigs, as well those arising from popularity, as those derived from connection (the best securities for the importance and weight of the people in the scale against prerogative) were decried by the party writers with great clamour and virulence. And the cabal....that very party who (to use the words of a great politician on that occasion) "in a few months afterwards soused over head and ears in the deepest and dirtiest pits of corruption," cried out violently against the indirect practices which had formerly prevailed in the electing and managing of parliaments.* If it was to be believed, the court was all of a sudden taken with a violent abhorrence to influence of any and every kind. The whole stream of royal bounty was represented as having been, during the last reign, infamously monopolized among a set of men of influence, and it was declared, that nothing could preserve the balance of the consti-

* The Middlesex election, and the expulsion and other treatment of Wilkes, with Luthe's return, coupled with these facts, make no bad comment altogether, upon political professions....Dicer's oaths!!!

tution from being overturned by the rabble on one hand, or by a faction of the nobility on the other, but putting down the old influences and freeing the sovereign effectually from the ministerial tyranny under which the crown had been oppressed, by the cabinet of GEORGE the III. or in other words, by the ministerial tyranny of WILLIAM PITT, and the independent whig leaders. When they had considerably inflamed the public mind, by the circulation of those writings, and the conversation of the kingdom was, by those and many other artifices brought to dwell upon the wonderful evils of the last reign, and the still more wonderful purity of the present, they came forward in a new and flattering shape. The writings of their creatures now brought consolation and hope along with them; a brilliant landskip was held up to the view of the nation, who were told that, that was the prospect which lay before them in the new reign. The gaping multitude, and "those good souls whose credulous morality is so invaluable a treasure to crafty politicians" were assured, and believed the assurance, that by a new system which the purity of his majesty's advisers had conceived and digested, party and party men, and all their undue influence, and all their wicked knavish doings, would be swept out from the court, and that the Augæan stable lately so full of filth, should be cleansed of all its corruption. Public spirit they were assured was to take up its exclusive residence with power and prerogative at court; from which all persons of sinister influence, vice, and evil views were to be banished; so that no body within its verge was to be suspected, or supposed capable of bad designs, while disgrace at court, and rejection by the favourite, were thenceforth to be considered as badges of criminal purposes and foul corruption. In a word nothing could be collected from the visions of PLATO, or the wayward wanderings of HARRINGTON to surpass the system of perfection in government promised by lord BUTE and his junto, to the honest, credulous people of

England. Nor were they yet all so credulous. There were among them men, who knew too well what kind of stuff it is, of which such overstrained promises, and pompous professions of more than human virtue are made, to give credit to them. Those were not slow to perceive the purposes for which such giant promises were designed, or to predict the end to which they were directed; and to distinguish in the whole process, the germ of that system which has since brought down upon England, more mischief than could reasonably be apprehended from centuries of ordinary ministerial misconduct and improbity; to wit: the system of separating the court from the ostensible administration, and of carrying every thing from national connection to personal favour. While others were disposed to believe promises which afforded flattery at once to their vanity and to their hopes, "many innocent gentlemen (says a profound writer, speaking upon this topic) who had been talking prose all their lives without knowing any thing of the matter, began at last to open their eyes upon their own merits, and to attribute their not having been lords of the treasury and lords of trade many years before, merely to the prevalence of party, and to the ministerial power which had frustrated the good intentions of the court in favour of their abilities," the whole rabble-rout of court runners, and creatures of favour: those who had office and hoped to keep it: those who had it not, but hoped to obtain it by servility, all joined with the hirelings of the press, and with the hirelings of both houses, in sedulously propagating and giving general circulation to those deceptions by every art, by which opinion can be communicated through the medium of the senses; through the sight, through the hearing and through the touch.

By this plan of policy, which may be considered as in some respects resembling that of the Turkish governments, where, in order to preclude any corruption from family connections, the minister is taken from the purchased slaves, and the

want of importance is made their title to ministerial power, the business of the nation was to be taken out of the hands of every leader of party (whether whig or tory) all of them men of talents, qualified to conciliate the people, to engage their confidence and to protect their rights and privileges) and given to men of no sort of credit or consideration in the country. We advance this upon the best authorities which the writings of the times afford us. Even with all their honest, and on many accounts laudable and salutary national prejudices, lord BUTE's countrymen have not ventured to bear out his lordship's character and conduct, upon this occasion. A late Scottish historian, of considerable celebrity, draws them both in not very favourable colours.*

While these plans were thus advancing to maturity, and gradually moving on from barren contemplation to effective

* "The earl of Bute (says doctor Bissett) was certainly not indebted to superiority of capacity for his exaltation. His talents, though not contemptible, were by no means great; his attainments were such as moderate parts can easily reach. He was a good classical scholar; he was tolerably versed in those experimental details in natural history, physics, chemistry, botany and astronomy, which frivolous minds dignify with the name of philosopher: but neither in natural, moral or political knowledge were his views enlarged. In his principals of government he was arbitrary; in his disposition proud. He was ambitious far beyond his capacity; and, though of a decent moral character, by no means agreeable in his manners. He was thought tinctured with the dissimulation and artifice, by which ordinary minds often attempt to supply the want of great talents. By these means he was supposed to have come into power, and from the manifest earnestness with which he sought to disgust men of distinguished abilities, and of popular principles, was believed to have formed a plan of governing the country by mere court favoritism. Far inferior to Pitt in powers, far inferior to the duke of Newcastle in popular deportment, he was, by the majority of the nation, at once hated and disregarded. His talents were too trifling to enforce veneration; nor did he, by an engaging demeanour, endeavour to win affection. His measures soon increased the odium which his character had excited..."

[Vide "Life of Burke."]

practice, the cabal for the purposes of giving colour to their schemes, and of acquiring popular confidence in their promises and professions, either permitted the whig members of the cabinet, or perhaps prompted them to give from the throne some strong pledges of the patriotic dispositions of the young king and his cabinet. On the opening of his first parliament, GEORGE the III^d. delivered to both houses a speech, which had he before lost the fond and partial prepossessions of the people in his favour, would have recalled them, and confirmed him in their hopes and in their affections. It was a master-piece of simple and impressive eloquence, was conceived in the full spirit of true whiggism, and bore upon its face every mark of PITT. It has been questioned whether that great man was at the time sensible of the designs and principles of the king's favourite advisers. That he had suspicions of their general ambitious views is likely; but that he neither foresaw nor could imagine, or surmise the extent of their machinations, or the ultimate objects to which they aspired, is demonstrable from the king's speech, which was as affluent in profession and unsparing in propitious promise, as any of themselves or their subject instruments could have been. The grandeur, the virtue and the magnanimity of WILLIAM PITT, would have turned with scorn from an act of duplicity, and revolted at the very idea of putting his sovereign into the disgrace of giving from the throne, particularly at his first step over the threshold of sovereignty, a public pledge, which was not to be redeemed, or of making him the willful guarantee of promises never to be performed. But that the very men whose subsequent measures were but one long and black concatenation, without the interruption of a single bright link, of violations of the spirit and almost the letter of that speech, were privy to it, and that though incapable of composing it, they did consent to its being spoken from the throne, every one must be convinced, who knows the fact;

that the king's speech is always considered in full council, and read at the cockpit, the day before its being delivered in parliament. This point deserves to be dwelt upon, as it throws a strong light upon the perfidious designs of the junto, at once against the people's rights, and the honour of their indulgent, too favouring sovereign. Unquestionably no two things can be conceived more at variance with each other, than the system which they had chalked out for the administration of government, and the principles and promises contained in that speech. Whatever their intentions were, the speech had a happy effect upon the king's popularity ; it received the most ample credit, and the confidence of the people in their young sovereign's patriotism was increased by a measure which came recommended to parliament, in a speech from the throne, by which, without forfeiting any thing of prerogative, he acquired much credit and popularity. The king informed the parliament, that he considered the independence of the judges essential to the administration of justice, and one of the best securities of the liberty of the subject, as well as conducive to the honour of the crown : he therefore recommended an increase of their salaries, and a permanency in office, notwithstanding the demise of the crown, at which event their offices had hitherto determined. The commons in return expressed their gratitude for the king's attention to that interesting subject, and an act was brought in and passed accordingly.

These deep laid plans of deception, the applauses profusely bestowed upon the court by its hireling tools, the plausible and earnest professions and promises, in the king's first speech, and the concession without sacrifice made in the last, led the people into precisely that state of mind which suited the purposes of the cabal. In the king and in his virtues, which of course included, or rather meant those of his advisers, every thing was to be looked for. It was now time to take a material step under cover of the king's popularity. The removal of the whigs and their leaders from adminis-

tration, all along deemed expedient, and now considered to be safely practicable, commenced with the dismissal of Mr. LEGGE. The offence for which this able and virtuous minister was dismissed, is of a nature too extraordinary to be omitted in this part of the history, which is intended as a clue to guide the reader to the character of the efficient promoters of that system of politics so baneful to Britain, so unprosperous to its sovereign, so disgraceful to his reign, and which, in the end, brought about the revolution of America.

During the life time of the late king, Mr. LEGGE, being a very popular whig, and not less, on that account, a favourite at court, was earnestly solicited by the county of Southampton, to stand candidate at the next election for the office of knight of the shire for that county. Of course he was successful, and every idea of opposition to him had vanished, when he received a message from the prince of Wales, (now king) desiring in terms which bore rather the aspect of peremptory demand, than of gentle or even pressing solicitation, to relinquish his pretensions to a near relation of the earl of BUTE. Mr. LEGGE, as in duty and in honour bound, desired to be excused, and declined the prince's request, but in terms as respectful as any combination or form of words could express. This was an offence never to be forgiven. The favourite was enraged at the contumacy of the whig; the plastic temper of the young prince had received from his adviser, an impression, which when hardened in the king, was not to be removed; and the patriotic sovereign, who in his celebrated first speech, delivered but four months before, declared in solemn parliament, "the civil and religious rights of my loving subjects are equally dear to me, with the most valuable prerogatives of my crown," was prevailed upon to exercise a measure of vengeance upon a faithful patriot and friend to his royal house, for resisting an attempt to interfere unconstitutionally and unwarrantably with the franchises and elective rights of the people, which it is the boast and the birth right

of Englishmen to exercise, independent of the throne. On this point we lay thus much stress, not for the purpose of criminating the monarch of England, but on the contrary, by a comparison of his conduct in that instance, with the mild, generous, just and temperate disposition, by which, even his least friendly subjects confess, he was distinguished, to convey, as well as we can, an idea of the state of deceptive tutelage and bad controul under the dominion of which he could so far have lost all recollection of what he owed to his kingly character, and to the laws and constitutional rights of the people, to the free exercise of which constitutional rights and to them alone, he was indebted for the throne which he filled.

It is astonishing that Mr. PITT, did not, in the dismissal of Mr. LEGGE, see the natural preliminary to the fall of himself and his party ; or that seeing it, he did not at once resign. What his motives for not doing so, may have been, it would be difficult to surmise ; but it would be to belie the general opinion, and to act in repugnance to duty, as well as conviction to refrain from saying, that there is little doubt can be entertained of their having been honorable, though, perhaps mistaken ; noble, though, possibly injurious to himself and his party. The time had not yet arrived, when an open rupture with him would be adviseable, and he continued to retain the management of foreign affairs till a circumstance occurred which gave to the faction the completion of their wishes, without injuring their popularity, and sent that great man out of office without directly implicating themselves in the criminality of having driven him from power by their indirect artifices. As guilt is often imputed where it is not deserved, it often inheres where it is not perceived, and escapes censure when it ought to receive punishment.

During the successful prosecution of the war with France, certain differences, wholly irrevalent to our present purpose, arose between the courts of Madrid and St. James' ; nego-

ciations and conferences took place, but the national harmony was not interrupted. During the prosecution of those negotiations, however, Mr. PITT, who misapplied no part of the secret service money of his country, and by that means got intelligence, which enabled him to act in a manner, that seemed as if he were guided by a prophetic spirit, had got ample and indubitable intelligence, that the famed treaty, commonly called the family compact, between the royal houses of Spain and France, had been actually signed. Convinced that that alliance was fraught with hostility to England, to be openly avowed when an advantageous occasion should offer, and, that in all probability, a secret and sudden blow would be levelled by Spain at England, in a weak and unguarded place and moment, that great man proposed in council, that a declaration of war should be made against Spain, and that a powerful squadron should be immediately dispatched to take the flota, then full of treasure, on its passage from Carthagena to Europe.* In this proposition he was deserted by the whole cabinet, earl TEMPLE excepted. Subsequent events demonstrated that that great man was right; but on this point, the BUTE administration has not wanted its defenders, even among writers of our own day. Finding his influence in the council at an end, he declared that, "he would not continue to be responsible for measures which he was no longer allowed to guide," and resigned the seals. If the errors of GEORGE the III^d. had gone no further than the depriving Great-Britain of such a minister, it would have taken years of good management to expiate the injury done to the nation, by that unprosperous expedient of court intrigue.

Mr. PITT being deprived of office, the whole power of administration, and the direction of national affairs devolved upon lord BUTE, who, along with this vast and important

* "Let us (said he) with one blow crush the house of Bourbon!"

influence possessed the favour of his master to a degree, which perhaps, never existed between a sovereign and his minister. Thus armed, he felt that he had little to apprehend from the duke of NEWCASTLE and his party, whom he could at pleasure remove; while that nobleman and his party were, at bottom, well pleased to get rid of Mr. PITT, who, while he supported, oppressed them with his integrity, his talents and his brilliant virtues. Short sighted policy !....at the very moment they were tottering on the brink of dismissal, they were so blinded by ambitious jealousy of their late colleague, that they wholly forgot how certainly their own fall was involved in his. To throw them out of power was not enough for the cabal, who felt that nothing was done, if all was not accomplished, and thought that the exclusion of the leading men from the king's councils was not enough, if they were not disgraced, divided, and rendered incapable, for that reign at least, of returning to office, except through the direct will of the favourite, who, by the dismissal of the duke, manifested that it was the determination of the junto to govern the country, and direct the cabinet by the court forces alone, independent of the support of parties, their leaders, or the men of established weight and influence in the country. Having by the most extraordinary artifices in some degree reconciled the people to the great change which was made in the composition of the cabinet, they proceeded to that grand section of their plan, the disuniting of all the old party connexions and alliances, which had hitherto fed the cabinet councils with wisdom and virtue. Though there were faults in the conduct of the duke of NEWCASTLE, as well as of other leading men, with respect to Mr. PITT, yet the dismissal of his grace deserves severe reprobation, and indeed excited universal dislike, which perhaps was heightened by the dignified manner in which he left the cabinet. He refused an ample pension with just disdain, saying, that if he could no longer be permitted to serve the country, he was resolved not to be a burden

to it. When it is considered that this venerable nobleman had devoted the labours of his life to the whig interest, and greatly injured his private fortune and domestic concerns in the support of the cause which brought the house of HANOVER to the throne, and that he had been ever distinguished for his zeal in the cause of freedom, and as an accessory to that, for fidelity to the reigning family, it is impossible not to be confounded at the infatuation, and astonished at the nature of that influence, which could so enthrall the mind and sentiments of a virtuous young king, and spell-bind his understanding against his own and the nation's interest, and his heart against the strong claims which those great men possessed upon the gratitude of him and his house.

The indignation of the whigs, at the weakness and insensibility of the king to those faithful personages, was certainly great, and the various artifices used to ruin the character of Mr. PITT, were justly considered insulting aggravations of the evil; but the favourite more intent upon monopolizing power, than susceptible of impression from scorn and contumely, marched forward in the line he had prescribed to himself, with so little of either shame or compunction, that suspicions began to be entertained, of the depth and darkness of his designs. On the part of his cabal, nothing was left undone, that could tend to disunite every party, and even every family, in order that "no concert, order or effect might appear in any future opposition." To this end numerous agents were dispersed abroad to carry on their plans, all of them instructed to co-operate to one end, but by different means. Here were seen some of them terrifying the great and opulent with the horrors of a mob government; there were others observed, alarming the people with the phantom of a tyranny in the nobles, and an aristocratic conspiracy; all upon the principle, and for the purpose of sowing jealousies among the different orders of the state, and of "disjointing the natural strength of the kingdom, that it might be rendered incapable of resist-

ing the sinister designs of wicked men, who had engrossed the royal power." It was (not vainly) hoped, that by those means parliament, people, parties and their leaders interdicted by doubt and suspicions, from coalescing for the public good, and from looking to each other for support, would naturally cast their eyes towards the court, and the cabal, who if they kept measures with any of the principal personages for a short time, always contrived to disgust them with insolence or neglect, whenever it suited their purpose to get rid of them. Soon after the dismissal of the duke of NEWCASTLE from administration, the head of the illustrious and patriotic house of CAVENDISH, the duke of DEVONSHIRE, resigned his office, and in revenge for the noble and spirited indignation with which he inveighed against the proceedings of the court, was expunged from the list of privy counsellors, with the intended mark of disgrace of being struck out by the king's own hand ; as if the illustrious descendant of that lord CAVENDISH, who bled upon the scaffold for gloriously attempting to exclude JAMES the II^d. from the throne, could be disgraced by having a stroke of a pen drawn across his name by any hand in the realm. The great lord HARDWICKE also (the father of equity) retired in disgust ; and they and many other peers and whigs of distinction joined an opposition, formed by another coalition of the duke of NEWCASTLE and Mr. PITT.

According to the new system the administration, and the court, were completely separated ; the cabal, as an inner cabinet, standing between them ; and the influence of the crown, which had always been given directly to the support of its ministers, was now given to the favorite, to be by him dealt out to, or with-held, as he pleased. Hence the ministers became dependent upon him, who, while he guided the cabal, intercepted the royal favour in its passage to the ministers. In the exercise of this power men of all parties were, by turns, called into the administration, for the purpose of

being ruined in public opinion and in truth, few of them escaped without disgrace; none without material injury. By professions of confidence and support, the leading men were first brought into office; but, soon becoming ashamed and mortified, at the disgraceful servitude of being obliged to execute the orders of their inferiors, and of being opposed by the subordinate instruments of their office, grew impatient, and being considered troublesome, were soon put off. The rotten members of their parties, however, still remained behind in office; and thus the faction, by giving them a temporary power, divided the party and reduced its strength. Besides this, they always contrived to separate the outward administration into two parties, at least, which, "whilst they were tearing each other to pieces, were alike competitors for the favour and protection of the cabal; and by their emulation, continued to throw every thing more and more into the hands of the interior managers."

The constitution, laws and policy of this extraordinary faction (which an eminent political philosopher and author, has distinguished by the emphatical name of, "*a court corporation*") together with all its artifices, ways, and means, are sketched, with so masterly a pencil, by that great man, that it would be an injury to the subject, and a wrong to the readers, to give it to them in any other words but his own.

"A minister of state will sometimes keep himself, totally estranged from all his colleagues; will differ from them in their councils; will privately traduce and publicly oppose their measures. He will, however, continue in his employment. Instead of suffering any mark of displeasure, he will be distinguished by an unbounded profusion of court rewards and caresses, because he does all that is expected from men in office. He helps to keep some form of administration in being, and keeps it at the same time as weak and divided as possible. However we must take care not to be mistaken, or to imagine that such persons have any weight in their op-

position. When by them, administration is convinced of its own insignificancy, they are soon to be convinced of their own. They are never suffered to succeed in their opposition. They, and the world, are to be satisfied that neither office, nor authority, nor property, nor ability, eloquence, counsel, skill or union are of the least importance, but that *the mere influence of the court, naked of all support, and destitute of all management, is abundantly sufficient for all its own purposes.*"

"When any adverse connection is to be destroyed, the cabal seldom appear in the work themselves. They find out some person of whom the party entertains a high opinion. Such a person they endeavour to delude with various pretences. They teach him first to distrust, and then to quarrel with his friends; among whom, by the same arts, they excite a similar diffidence of him, so that in this mutual fear and distrust, he may suffer himself to be employed as the instrument in the change which it brought about. Afterwards they are sure to destroy him in his turn, by setting up in his place some person in whom he had, himself, reposed the greatest confidence, and who serves to carry off a considerable part of his adherents. When such a person has broke in this manner with his connections, he is soon compelled to commit some flagrant act of iniquitous personal hostility against some of them (such as an attempt to strip a particular friend of his family estate) by which the cabal hope to render the parties utterly irreconcilable."

As in destroying their enemies, they make use of instruments not immediately belonging to their corps, so in advancing their own friends they pursue exactly the same method. To promote any of them to considerable rank or emolument, they commonly take care that the recommendation shall pass through the hands of the ostensible ministry: such a recommendation might, however, appear to the world, as some proof of the credit of ministers, and some means of

increasing their strength. To prevent this, the persons so advanced are directed, industriously, to declare in all companies that they are under no obligations whatsoever to administration ; that they have received their office from another quarter ; that they are totally free and independent.

“ When the faction has any job of lucre to obtain, or vengeance to perpetrate, their way is to select, for the execution, those very persons to whose habits, friendships, principles and declarations, such proceedings are publicly known to the most adverse ; at once to render the instruments the more odious, and therefore the more dependent, and to prevent the people from ever reposing any confidence in any appearance of private friendship or public principle.

“ If the administration seem now and then, from remissness, or from fear of making themselves disagreeable, to suffer any popular excesses to go unpunished, the cabal immediately sets up some creature of theirs to raise a clamour against the ministers, as having shamefully betrayed the dignity of government. They then compel the ministry to become active in conferring rewards and honours on the persons who have been the instruments of their disgrace ; and after having villified them with the higher orders, for suffering the laws to sleep over the licentiousness of the populace, they drive them (in order to make amends for their former inactivity) to some act of atrocious violence, which renders them completely abhorred by the people. They, who remember the riots which attended the Middlesex election ; the opening of the present parliament ; and the transactions relative to St. George's fields, will not be at a loss for the application of these remarks.”

“ Conscious of their independence, they bear themselves with a lofty air to the exterior ministers. Like Janissaries they derive a kind of freedom from the very condition of their servitude. They may act just as they please, provided they are true to the great ruling principle of the institution. It

is therefore not at all wonderful, that people should be so desirous of adding themselves to that body, in which they may possess and reconcile satisfactions the most alluring, and seemingly the most contradictory ; enjoying at once all the spirited pleasure of independence, and all the gross lucre, and fat emoluments of servitude. The name by which the men of this faction chuse to distinguish themselves, is that of " KING'S MEN," or " THE KING'S FRIENDS," by an invidious exclusion of the rest of his majesty's most loyal and affectionate subjects. The whole system, comprehending the exterior and interior administrations is commonly called in the technical language of the court, "*double cabinet*;" in French or English as you chuse to pronounce it.

All the independent men, all the whig politicians, and all the popular writers of that time, pretty nearly concur in their ideas upon this unfortunate subject, having no grounds upon which to erect this history, but the facts and transactions as they are on record, with the writings of able men as comments upon them, this is given from what appear to be the best authorities, as a summary account of the system which has been productive of such lamentable consequences to England. Some of the best lights have been derived from a work of EDMUND BURKE's, published in the year 1770, because it not only bears upon the face of it intrinsic proofs of value, and is greatly esteemed by the learned,* but because it displays great liberality and tenderness to the prime mover, and it is believed, first promoter of the system it condemns. Having given the sketch already extracted, he makes the following liberal and honourable observations, which it would be no less injustice to the object, than to the author of them, to separate or withhold from this part of the subject. " It may

* Dr. Bissett, a learned and ingenious North Briton says, " Burke's thoughts on the present discontents," deserves the studious perusal of the politician, as it marks with great impartiality, the state of the public mind at that period.

appear somewhat affected (says he) that in so much discourse upon this extraordinary party, I should say so little of the earl of BUTE, who is the supposed head of it. But this was neither owing to affectation or inadvertence. I have carefully avoided the introduction of personal reflections of any kind. Much the greater part of the topics which have been used to blacken this nobleman, are either unjust or frivolous.* At best they have a tendency to give the resentment of this bitter calamity a wrong direction, and to turn a public grievance into a mean, personal, or a dangerous national quarrel. Where there is a regular scheme of operations carried on, it is the system, and not any individual person who acts in it, is dangerous. This system has not arisen solely from the ambition of lord BUTE, but from the circumstances which favoured it, and from an indifference to the constitution which had for sometime been growing among our gentry. We should probably have been tried with it if the earl of BUTE had never existed ; and it will want neither a contriving head nor active members when the earl of BUTE exists no longer.†

* Burke alludes to the abuse of Lord Bute, which was carried from his measures to his person, to his country, to his private morals, and to guilt of the worst kind, to the royal family and its domestic honor and character. Scotchmen were marked as unfriendly to liberty, zealous of monarchical despotism, and hostile to England and her constitution ; this change against his creatures bore colour of likelihood from the character of their patron, so that hatred of lord Bute, and of the Scotch, were alike prevalent. Wilkes, Churchill, Junius (for not one of whom the author of the cause of the present discontents entertained the least respect, but the reverse) fanned the flame.

† This, which was then prophecy, is now reduced to matter of history. In fact, the game played as described above under lord Bute, has with little other change than that of names, continued to be played to this day, under his lordship's then secretary, Mr. Charles Jenkinson, now earl of Liverpool. Should his present majesty out-live the earl, there is a young politician in the nest, ready at hand to supply his loss, in the renowned planner of the march to Paris.

It is not therefore to rail at lord BUTE, but firmly to embody against this court party, and its practices, which can afford us any prospect of relief in our present condition."

To that system, which let it have originated with whom it would, has been long allowed to be the bane of Britain, and we fear will continue to be so till a change to any other will be too late, the ruinous policy which gave birth to the American war, and consequent revolution is to be traced. Having endeavoured to account (it is hoped not unsuccessfully) for that strange subduction of sense from the public, and perversion of the staple opinions of the people of England, which could make them succumb under such ruinous measures of policy, the history will now proceed to the motives of the court faction for its encroachments on the colonies; from all of which it will appear evidently that the people of England and every class of them, that court party and their creatures excepted, were guiltless of that atrocious, desperate, and to England, perhaps calamitous measure.

CHAPTER XI.

HISTORY OF THE PASSING TIMES.

CONGRESS.

LEAD MINES OF LOUISIANA.

THE attention of Congress having been called to the subject of the lead mines in the newly acquired territory of Louisiana, a committee had been appointed to consider the same. On the 19th of November, the report of that committee was brought up to the House of Representatives, con-

taining a resolution, "that the president ought to be authorised to appoint an agent, with instructions to collect all the material information possible, respecting the actual condition, occupancy and titles of those mines: which agent should make a report of the same before the next sitting of congress." This resolution was referred to a committee of the whole house, and passed without opposition. A very short conversation arose, upon the suggestion of a member, that the resolution ought to be extended to all kinds of ore, and even to salt springs and licks, which was answered by the member who brought up the resolution, saying, that the executive had anticipated the objects proposed, and that he expected the house would soon be gratified with an account of the discoveries making, by agents on the Mississippi, Arkansas, Red River, &c. On the 21st of November, the resolution being put on the question of the third reading, another conversation took place. It was objected that doubts might be entertained of the propriety of the measure, as from the account given on a former day, by the mover of it, it appeared to be at least superfluous. The president, it appeared, had, under proper authority, already appointed agents to explore Louisiana, they had been some time engaged in that work, one of them (major Lewis) had been for some time at St. Louis, in the neighbourhood of the lead mines, and from that gentleman's well known enterprise and minute inquiries, the object of the proposed resolution might reasonably be expected to be accomplished. Besides the document which accompanied the president's message, threw a light on the subject, and as no doubt had been suggested of the accuracy of the information contained in that document, the resolution was useless.

This objection was rebutted by an explanation of the nature of the intended appointment, which did not seem to be understood by the gentleman who opposed it. The object of the resolution was to inquire into the titles of the present

occupants and claimants. This required a civilian versed in the laws of those nations who had heretofore held that territory ; not a naturalist or mineralogist. Neither would it be necessary to send the agent to the mines themselves, but to the archives, where the deeds and conveyances, founding the titles were recorded. The employment was merely temporary, and the expence would be trifling. This explanation led to an expression on the other side, of an apprehension, that as Louisiana had been held alternately by three or four nations, each of which had granted titles to more or less of the lands in question, an examination into the titles would excite a high degree of sensibility among the inhabitants, who ought now to be treated with delicacy. The titles were of various kinds ; some derived from governors, some from commanders of posts. Probably many of the latter would be considered illegal by the agent, especially as the commander of St. Louis had held permanent authority over the subordinate posts, and the title of lands granted without his approbation would not be allowed. Yet those persons holding under those titles, would consider themselves by occupancy and improvement the bona fide proprietors of the soil. It was therefore to be feared, that the resolution, if passed, would create discontent, while a postponement could do no evil. To this it was replied, that the very statement which the opposers of the measure had given of the condition of the titles, was the strongest ground possible, for carrying the resolution into effect. The business seemed to be mistaken this day as much as the former. The resolution did not go to the sending of a board of commissioners to hear and determine upon titles and claims, but merely to give congress the information necessary to enable government to decide without them. The house considered the measure to be free from the objection made, and it passed, seventy-four members being in its favour. It was supported by Dr. Mitchell and Mr. Newton, and opposed by Mr. Lucas.

BILL FOR PRESERVING PEACE IN PORTS AND HARBOURS.

A bill for the more effectual preservation of peace in the ports and harbours of the United States, and in the waters under their jurisdiction, was, on the 26th of November, referred to a committee of the whole house. The object of this bill was to insure and facilitate the due execution of civil judiciary process on board vessels lying in harbour. And the first section authorised the executive to call in the aid of militia, regular troops, and armed vessels, to execute process upon offenders, who take refuge on board foreign vessels. This section containing the words "*and if death ensues on either side, those who are concerned in support of the civil authority shall be justified, and those engaged in resisting, shall be punished, as in cases of homicide resisting a civil officer.*" Information was desired as to what the punishment should be. A long conversation ensued upon this, which was renewed on the next day (the 27th) but as it went wholly to questions of criminal law, and the nature and application of murder and manslaughter, it could not properly make a part of the subject here. The section was objected to as unconstitutional, congress not having a power to punish crimes committed against a particular state. The subject belonged to the state itself. Congress had a constitutional power to define and punish crimes and piracies committed on the high seas, but not within the limits of any particular state. The result of those conversations was, that the gentleman who brought in the bill, Mr. Nicholson, agreed to the committee rising in order to give time for a due consideration of the legal part of the subject. He desired, however, that it should not be understood that he had any constitutional difficulties to struggle with; congress having, by the constitution, ample power to enforce the revenue laws.

On the 30th, a new bill was brought in by Mr. Nicholson, referred to a committee of the house on the 3d of December, and afterwards passed.

JUDGE CHASE'S IMPEACHMENT.

On the 30th of November, 1805, articles of impeachment were brought up from a committee appointed on the 6th, against judge Chase. And a motion being made to refer them to a committee of the whole house, on the ensuing Friday, it was proposed to appoint a more distant day, in order to allow the accused time for his defence ; and in support of this it was insisted, that not only the utmost reasonable extent of time ought to be allowed, but that the greatest deliberation and caution was necessary upon so important an occasion. A motion was made for further time, but lost by 68 to 40. On the 5th of December the articles were brought in enrolled, and were as follows :

ARTICLE I—That, unmindful of the solemn duties of his office, and contrary to the sacred obligation by which he stood bound to discharge them “faithfully and impartially, and without respect to persons,” the said Samuel Chase, on the trial of John Fries, charged with treason, before the circuit court of the United States, held for the district of Pennsylvania, in the city of Philadelphia, during the months of April and May, one thousand eight hundred, whereat the said Samuel Chase presided, did, in his judicial capacity, conduct himself in a manner highly arbitrary, oppressive and unjust, viz.

1—In delivering an opinion, in writing, on the question of law, on the construction of which, the defence of the accused materially depended, tending to prejudice the minds of the jury against the case of the said John Fries, the prisoner, before counsel had been heard in his defence :

2—In restricting the counsel for the said Fries from recurring to such English authorities as they believed apposite, or from citing certain statutes of the United States, which they deemed illustrative of the positions, upon which they intended to rest the defence of their client :

3—In debarring the prisoner from his constitutional privilege of addressing the jury (through his counsel) on the law as well as on the fact, which was to determine his guilt or innocence, and at the same time endeavouring to wrest from the jury their indisputable right to hear argument, and determine upon the question of law, as well as the question of fact, involved in the verdict which they were required to give :

ARTICLE II—That in consequence of this irregular conduct of the said Samuel Chase, as dangerous to our liberties, as it is novel to our laws and usages, the said John Fries was deprived of the right, secured to him by the eighth article amendatory of the constitution, and was condemned to death without having been heard by counsel, in his defence, to the disgrace of the character of the American Bench, in manifest violation of law and justice, and in open contempt of the rights of juries, on which, ultimately, rest the liberty and safety of the American people.

ARTICLE III—That, prompted by a similar spirit of persecution and injustice, at a circuit court of the United States, held at Richmond, in the month of May, one thousand eight hundred, for the district of Virginia, whereat the said Samuel Chase presided, and before which a certain James Thompson Callender was arraigned for a libel on John Adams, then president of the United States, the said Samuel Chase, with intent to oppress and procure the conviction of the said Callender, did over-rule the objection of John Basset, one of the jury, who wished to be excused from serving on the said trial, because he had made up his mind as to the publication from which the words charged to be libellous in the indictment, were extracted ; and the said Basset was accordingly sworn, and did serve on the said jury.

ARTICLE IV—That the evidence of John Taylor, a material witness on behalf of the aforesaid Callender was not permitted by the said Samuel Chase to be given in, because

the said witness could not prove the truth of the whole of one of the charges contained in the indictment, although the said charge embraced more than one fact.

ARTICLE V—That the conduct of the said Samuel Chase was marked, during the whole course of the said trial, by manifest injustice, partiality and intemperance, viz.

1—In refusing to postpone the trial although an affidavit was regularly filed, stating the absence of material witnesses on behalf of the accused.

2—In the use of unusual, rude and contemptuous expressions towards the prisoner's counsel; and in insinuating that they wished to excite the public fears and indignation, and to produce that insubordination to law, to which the conduct of the judge did, at the same time manifestly tend:

3—In repeated and vexatious interruptions of the said counsel, on the part of the said judge, which at length induced them to abandon their cause and their client, who was thereupon convicted and condemned to fine and imprisonment:

4—In an indecent solicitude, manifested by the said Samuel Chase, for the conviction of the accused, unbecoming even a public prosecutor, but highly disgraceful to the character of a judge, as it was subversive of justice.

ARTICLE VI—That, at a circuit court of the United States, for the district of Delaware, held at New Castle, in the month of June, one thousand eight hundred, whereat the said Samuel Chase presided; the said Samuel Chase, disregarding the duties of his office, did descend from the dignity of a judge, and stoop to the level of an informer, by refusing to discharge the grand jury, although entreated by several of the said jury so to do; and after the said grand jury had regularly declared, through their foreman, that they had found no bills of indictment, nor had any presentments to make, by observing to the said grand jury, that he, the said Samuel Chase, understood "that a highly seditious temper had ma-

nifested itself in the state of Delaware, among a certain class of people, particularly in New-Castle county, and more especially in the town of Wilmington, where lived a most seditious printer, unrestrained by any principle of virtue, and regardless of social order; that the name of this printer was"—but checking himself, as if sensible of the indecorum which he was committing, added, "that it might be assuming too much to mention the name of this person; but it becomes your duty, gentlemen, to enquire diligently into this matter;" and that with intention to procure the prosecution of the printer in question, the said Samuel Chase did, moreover, authoritatively enjoin on the district attorney of the United States, the necessity of procuring a file of the papers to which he alluded (and which were understood to be those published under the title of "Mirror of the Times and General Advertiser") and, by a strict examination of them, to find some passage which might furnish the ground work of a prosecution against the printer of the said paper; thereby degrading his high judicial functions, and tending to impair the public confidence in, and respect for, the tribunals of justice, so essential to the general welfare.

ARTICLE VII—And whereas mutual respect and confidence between the governments of the United States and those of the individual states, and between the people and those governments respectively, are highly conducive to that public harmony, without which there can be no public happiness, yet the said Samuel Chase, disregarding the duties and dignity of his judicial character, did, at a circuit court, for the district of Maryland, held at Baltimore, in the month of May, one thousand eight hundred and three, pervert his official right and duty to address the grand jury then and there assembled, on the matters coming within the province of the said jury, for the purpose of delivering to the said grand jury an intemperate, inflammatory and political harangue, with intent to excite the fears and resentment of

the said grand jury, and of the good people of Maryland, against their state government and constitution, a conduct highly censurable in any, but peculiarly indecent and unbecoming in a judge of the supreme court of the United States; and moreover that the said Samuel Chase, then and there, under pretence of exercising his judicial right to address the said grand jury as aforesaid, did, in a manner highly unwarrantable, endeavour to excite the odium of the said grand jury, and of the good people of Maryland against the government of the United States, by delivering opinions which, even if the judicial authority were competent to their expressions, on a suitable occasion and in a proper manner, were at that time, and as delivered by him, highly indecent, extrajudicial, and tending to prostitute the high judicial character with which he was invested, to the low purpose of an electioneering partizan.

And the house of representatives, by protestation, saving to themselves the liberty of exhibiting at any time hereafter, any farther articles or other accusation or impeachment against the said Samuel Chase, and also of replying to his answers which he shall make unto the said articles, or any of them, and offering proof to all and every the aforesaid articles, and to all and every other articles, impeachment, or accusation, which shall be exhibited by them, as the case shall require, do demand, that the said Samuel Chase may be put to answer the said crimes and misdemeanors; and that such proceedings, examinations, trials and judgments may be thereupon had and given, as are agreeable to law and justice.

The house then proceeded to the appointment of managers, and having fixed the number at seven, ballotted for them, when the following were appointed...Mr. J. Randolph, Mr. Rodney, Mr. Nicholson, Mr. Earley, Mr. Boyle, Mr. Nelson, and Mr. G. W. Campbell.

It was then resolved that the impeachment should be carried on in the name of the house, and of all the people of the United States against Samuel Chase, for high crimes and misdemeanors, and a message was sent to the senate to inform them thereof.

CHAPTER XII.

BIOGRAPHY.

MEMOIRS OF THE YOUNG ROSCIUS.

[Continued from page 128.]

IT has often been regretted by those who think that the theatre ought to be restored to its ancient and natural dignity, that society furnishes no establishments for a regular scheme of theatrical education. The profession is undoubtedly liberal, in the most extensive construction of the word. It requires a greater assemblage of perfections, corporeal and mental, than perhaps any other. Yet, while law, physic and divinity, as well as other arts and sciences, have their schools, their colleges and professors, this alone is destitute of any institution, which may facilitate its difficult and laborious attainment. The actor is left to explore his way in the dark, exposed to all the errors of his own taste, and to the dangerous contagion of bad examples.

These complaints are assuredly just, but in the present state of things they are irremediable. If such institutions actually existed, they would be of very little use. The wretched remuneration received by the bulk of the profession, and the rank it holds in public estimation, must prevent

any gentleman of birth and education from embracing it as a means of subsistence. It is commonly the resource of necessity or of indolence, sometimes of a visionary weakness, or an ill placed enthusiasm for the art. In all these cases, there is neither the will nor the power to go through a course of preparatory study. The slow advancement of the art amongst its inferior professors, is not, therefore, any matter of just surprise, or of reasonable complaint. The state of perfection which they have actually reached, moderate as it may appear, is the real wonder. These observations will be assented to by any one who has remarked, that when a company of private gentlemen, even of talents and education, undertake to act a play, their performance will commonly be inferior to that of the meanest strollers in a provincial market town.

It is happy for the subject of these memoirs, that he is secured by situation and fortune from these usual disadvantages of the profession. He is in possession of all the means and opportunities for the complete developement of his genius; and that he possesses the requisite dispositions no one can doubt, who reflects on the progress he has already made. But, though external advantages are all in his favor, he is not without difficulties of another kind. His path appears covered with roses, but it is equally fruitful of thorns. All the dangers peculiarly to be dreaded at his time of life, when the feelings are vivid and the understanding is weak, constantly surround him. He is assailed by public and private flattery, administered in every shape and form; exposed to the plaudits of admiring crowds; to the caresses of the great; the notice of the wise and learned, and the adulation of his brother actors.

[*To be continued.*]

[The portion of RETROSPECTIVE HISTORY given for this Number having exceeded the expected length, we are obliged to break off this part abruptly, to keep the divisions of the work within their allotted space.]